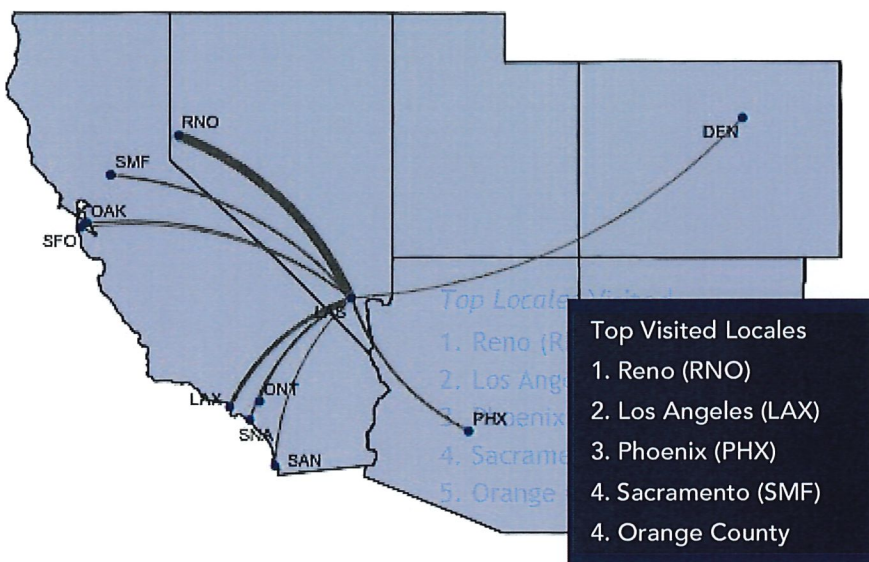


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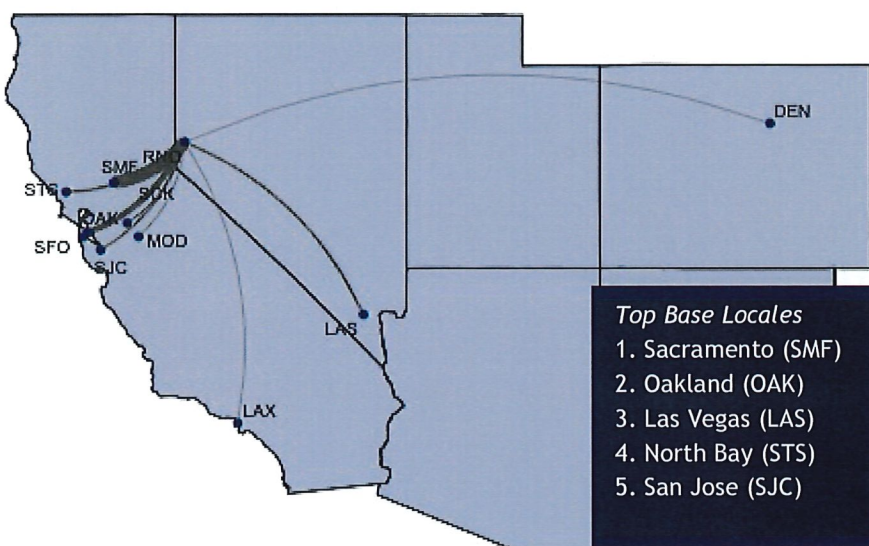
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Top 10 Cities Visited by those Sold for Sex in Las Vegas



Examining the cities visited by those based in Las Vegas reveals a similar set of cities, but with a somewhat different distribution among those cities. For example, those with a home base in Las Vegas are most likely to visit Reno, showing that intra-Nevada travel exists despite the importance of out-of-state hubs.

Top 10 Base Cities of Sex Providers Visiting Reno



As the map to the left shows, compared with Las Vegas, the Reno market has a much stronger connection with northern California. Four of the five top home bases among sex providers who visit Reno are in northern California, with the other being Las Vegas.¹⁹

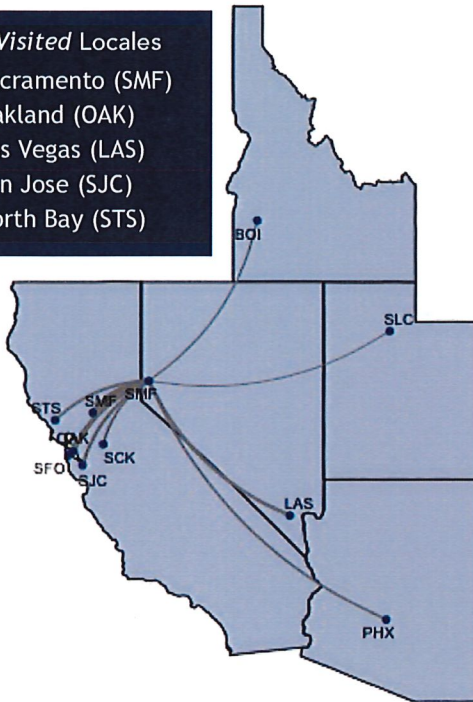
¹⁹ As noted, Backpage sites do not always correspond to recognized cities. The "North Bay" Backpage site includes advertisements from across that northern California area, including Napa, Santa Rosa, San Rafael and Vallejo.

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**Top 10 Cities Visited
by those Based in Reno***Top Visited Locales*

1. Sacramento (SMF)
2. Oakland (OAK)
3. Las Vegas (LAS)
4. San Jose (SJC)
5. North Bay (STS)



The same strong connection between northern California and Reno is evident when examining cities visited by sex providers based in Reno. These individuals are likely to visit the same cities that are the home bases of those who visit Reno. These trends show that particularly in the Reno – northern California market, one locale does not dominate as a “source” for sex providers. Instead, those individuals travel between a similar set of cities.

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CHARACTERIZING SEX PROVIDERS

A Young Market

Those selling sex in Nevada on Backpage are quite young. Since it is impossible to post a Backpage ad listing an age under 18 years, the average age of sex providers is probably younger than the average posted age. Even so, more than 13% of Nevada sex providers are advertised under the age of 21.

This means that more than **1 out of every 10** sex providers in Nevada is too young to buy alcohol, but old enough for johns to purchase them for sex.

These young individuals are almost twice as likely to travel as sex providers who are 21 and older. Moreover, many sex providers are advertised for their youth, regardless of their stated age. For example, phrases like "fresh meat," "brand new" and "daddy's little girl" are all used to connote the youth of sex providers. We have included examples of some of these postings below. We use a combination of key phrases like these and posted ages to give sex providers an overall probability of being young—broken down into low, moderate or high probability.²⁰

♥♥♥♥ **Young sexy & petite Just turned 18 - 18**

Posted: Thursday, June 16, 2016 11:18 AM

Unexplored sexy young lady - 19

Posted: Monday, August 15, 2016 9:43 AM

New girl here. Cute, sweet, young - 18

Posted: Saturday, December 31, 2016 3:56 PM

Want some fun tonight? Sexy young limber kitty wants you to play!!! <3 - 19

Posted: Saturday, August 13, 2016 8:24 PM

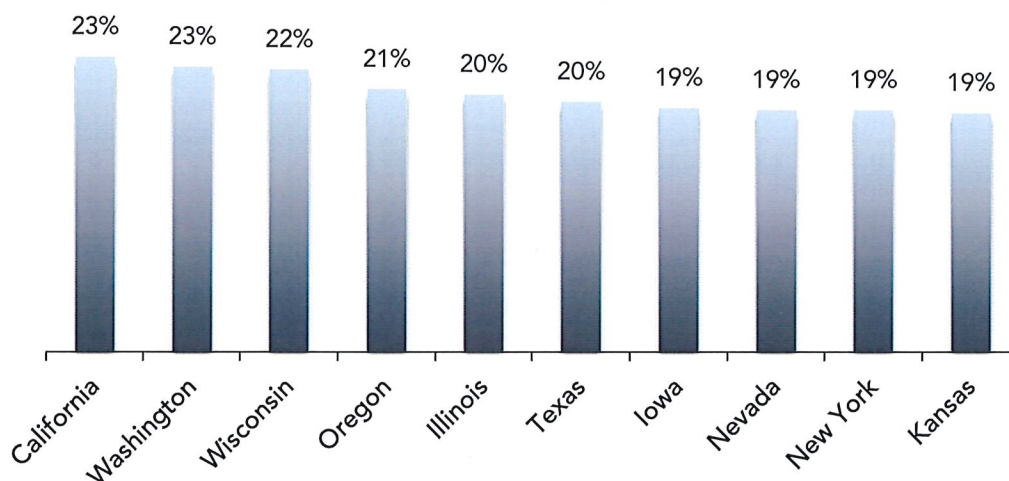
Overall, about 19% of Nevada sex providers have an either moderate or high likelihood of being young based on keywords or their posted age. This puts Nevada in the top ten states in the country in terms of youth of sex providers.

²⁰ Because Backpage does not allow those under 18 to post ads, we cannot definitely identify minors. Therefore, the group we identify as young likely includes any minors who are advertised on Backpage as well as young adults whose ads emphasize their youth.

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Top Ten States by Percent of Providers who are Likely to be Young

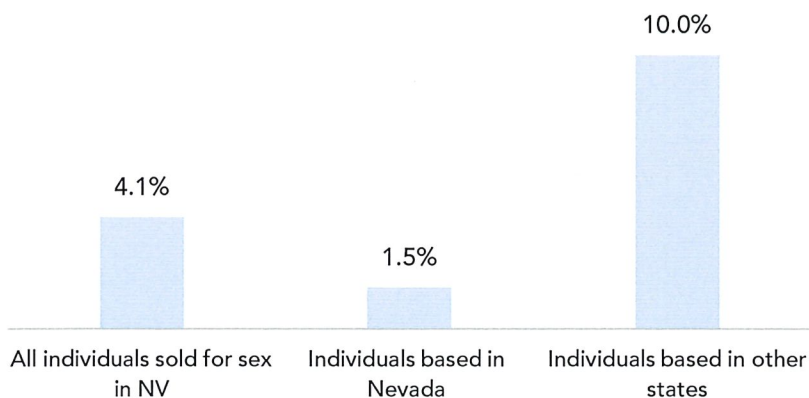


The Prevalence of Drugs

Substance dependence can leave sex providers vulnerable to exploitation by both facilitators and sex buyers. While Backpage ads do not capture all drug use among sex providers, certain advertisements explicitly identify individuals as being open to drug use through phrases such as "420 Friendly" and "ready to party." By flagging these phrases, we can identify a lower bound of drug use among sex providers in Nevada.

Overall, about 4.1% of sex providers in Nevada are advertised with indicators for drug use. However, there is a

Percent of sex providers with indicators for drug use, by base location



lot of variation in this rate among different types of sex providers. For example, only 1.5% of providers who are based in Nevada have indicators for drug use, while fully 10% of sex providers based in other states who also sell sex in Nevada have such indicators. Thus out-of-state visitors to Nevada are more than 7 times more likely to be advertised as open to drug use, compared to providers based in Nevada. In fact, this pattern— those who visit a

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state are more likely to advertise that they are open to drug use than those based in that state— holds in every state.

Our data cannot definitely explain why travel and drug use are positively correlated, but this could reflect difference in the underlying pool of sex providers who travel versus those who do not. Indeed, indicators for drug use correlate with other potential vulnerabilities. For example, if a sex provider is always available ("open 24/7") it could indicate that she does not control her own working schedule or is under intense pressure to meet a certain quota of sex buyers. In Nevada, individuals who are always available are more than 5.5 times as likely to have indicators for drug use as those who are not available 24/7.

We can look again at those who are at a moderate or high risk of being young to identify another potential vulnerability.

In Nevada, young sex providers are more than 2.1 times as likely to have indicators for drug use as those who are not young.

Connecting Sex Providers: Reduced Agency

When multiple sex providers work together, this can be an indicator of having a facilitator. Facilitators in turn can constrain the autonomy of sex providers.

In Nevada, more than 18% of sex providers are advertised in "multiple girl specials." Examples of these advertisements are shown below.

\$150 ♥ 2 FOR 1 ♥ ALL NIGHT SPECIAL ♥ \$150 X X X Payton & Piper - 18

***°.☆ ☆,°Double Trouble Sexy*°.☆ ☆,° & Wild Young & Ready for fun *°.☆ ☆,° We are what you need - 22**

Research shows that young girls rarely enter into the commercial sex industry without a facilitator actively recruiting them and breaking them in to the industry. We find evidence for this in Nevada, where young individuals are particularly likely to work in groups.

In Nevada, young sex providers are more than 1.3 times as likely to work with others as sex providers who are not young.

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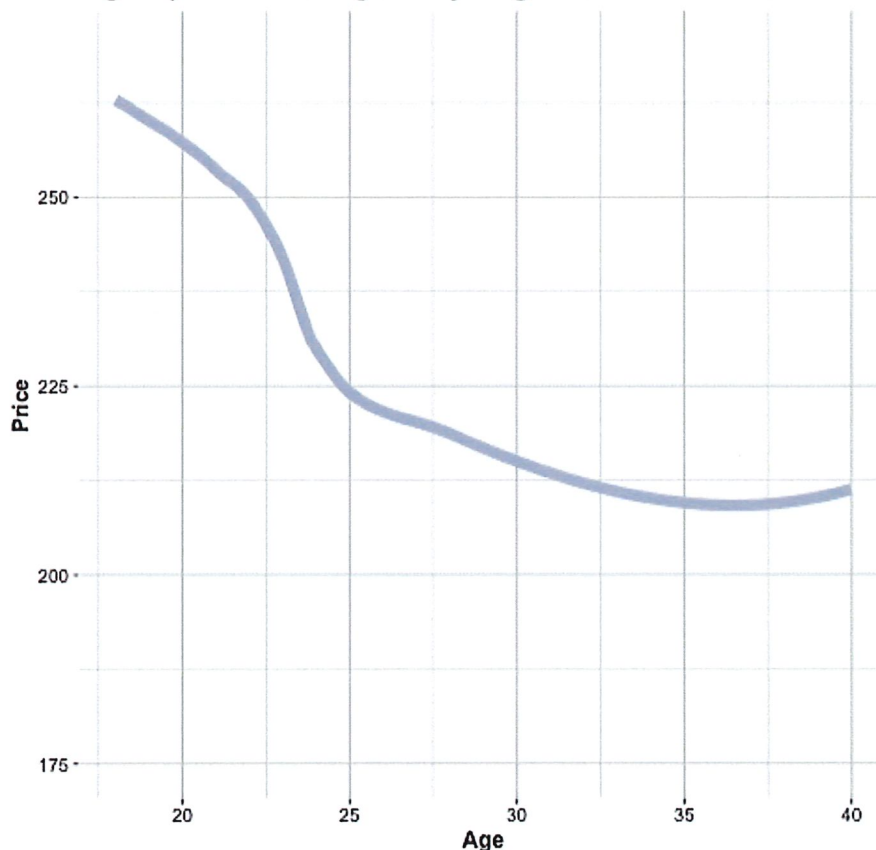
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UNDERSTANDING DEMAND

How client preferences create the trafficking environment

Since ads market to the tastes of consumers, they provide insight into the Johns that create the demand for the market. The fact that sex providers are advertised with euphemisms suggesting their youth, despite the well-known risks of law enforcement, means that **youth is an important characteristic sought by Johns.**

Higher prices are charged for younger women in Nevada



Further evidence of the importance of youth to Johns in Nevada comes from advertised prices. As shown by the graph²¹, higher prices are charged for younger women in Nevada. Furthermore, the relationship between youth and price charged is strongest among very young women (i.e., those 18 to 25). In contrast, there is little relationship between age and price once women are over 30.

This demand for youth has serious consequences for trafficking into the industry. The higher profit margins create incentives for traffickers to recruit younger individuals.

Moreover, the prevalence and reliance of Johns on reviews means that attempting to

deceive sex purchasers about the youth of a sex provider is unlikely to be a successful market strategy. This leads to a relatively high turnover within the industry owing to the dramatic decline in demand as a sex provider is less able to be marketed as "young" and "youthful."

²¹ The graph shows a local regression (LOESS curve) of price charged on age.

THE POTENTIAL FOR SEX TRAFFICKING ON BACKPAGE: QUANTIFYING PREVALENCE

Indicators of Trafficking

It is inherently difficult to identify individuals who have been trafficked because traffickers have incentives to hide their crimes. We have developed a framework that estimates risk of trafficking based on characteristics associated with trafficking, such as the potential for the provider being young or foreign and the possibility of exploitation. The numbers reported here – as throughout the report – are estimates based on Backpage advertisements.

Based off Backpage alone, only 28% of sex providers in Nevada's online commercial sex market appear to be adults working independently with no risk of trafficking.

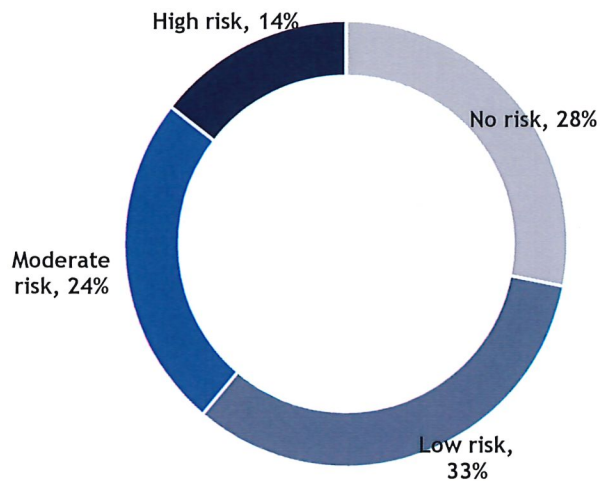
A full 72% of Nevada's sex providers have at least **some** indicator of being young, with the potential of being underage, or working in groups likely to have an active facilitator.

This does not necessarily mean that these sex providers are trafficked – some appear to be at higher risk than others.

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Risk of Trafficking

**No Risk**

- No identifiable indicators

Low Risk

- Some partial indicators

Moderate Risk

- Some indicators
- Need more information

High Risk

- Multiple indicators

Those at low risk of trafficking have some weaker indicators of being young or having a manager. Sex providers classified as having a moderate risk to trafficking have some indicators, although more information is needed to place them into the high-risk category, which requires multiple strong indicators of trafficking. This high-risk category represents likely sex trafficking victims.

14% of Nevada's Backpage sex providers are at a high risk of being exploited in a situation that constitutes trafficking.

Since more than 5,000 sex providers advertise in Nevada each month, more than 700 individuals in an average month are at high risk of being trafficking victims.

It is more difficult to judge the risk of trafficking from advertisements for licensed brothels than for individual sex providers for a number of reasons. First, some characteristics (such as working with other providers) might be risk factors in the criminalized market but not imply the same degree of risk in a licensed brothel. In addition, licensed brothels have obvious incentives not to attract attention of law enforcement or regulatory bodies so if any sex providers in those establishments were trafficked, those characteristics might not be displayed in advertisements. Finally, only a subset of licensed brothels advertised on Backpage, so we do not necessarily observe a representative sample of all brothels. Nonetheless, within the ads for licensed brothels we do see, there are varying degrees of apparent risk. For example, the first ad on the next page emphasizes the sex providers' youth in both the text of the ad and pictures (obscured) which are very youthful-looking. In addition, the description of some providers as "Asian" or "Egyptian" raises the possibility (though it is not certain) that some providers may be international.

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backpage Post Ad keyword escorts search reno, nv free classified

backpage.com > Reno adult entertainment > Reno escorts

★★ The [REDACTED] ★★ 7 NEW YOUNG GIRLS! ★★ FULL BARI! ★★ NEW ★★ Current Lineup!! - 22 Report Ad

Posted: Wednesday, November 30, 2016 10:09 AM

Reply

NEW Asian Spinner Tiffany
 NEW EGYPTIAN KATRINA 5'8 100lbs C cups!
 BLONDE SHELDON- Super hott!
 LATINA ROSA! Beautiful face!
 Blonde JULIE- Tall Blonde.
 LATINA EMILY - Super young with big C cups!
 SAPPHIRE Pom Star! Tight body & Nicest ass!
 BABY BLEU Youngest & hottest Chocolate!
 Abby- Awesome Party well reviewed petite spinner

[REDACTED] Male Operator
 Walk-ins welcome!

Poster's age: 22

- Location: Elko, Nevada, Reno
- Post ID: 19723767 reno

In contrast, the second ad below does not display risk factors such as being young, foreign, open to drug use, or available at all hours. Instead it is posted by a provider who, as far as is observable in the ad, is an older adult advertising her own services. The provider appears to move between licensed brothels as well the criminalized market in a transitory environment more indicative of autonomy.

Carmen is back at the [REDACTED] come PLAY - 47

Posted: Sunday, September 11, 2016 4:46 AM

Reply

My name is Mistress Carmen and I'm at the [REDACTED] brothel and strip club and I'm 5'0 blonde hair and brown eyes and I'm very voluptuous. And if you would like to see me you can go to [REDACTED] and if you want to contact me you can call me at [REDACTED] appointments are available plus I do lap dances and pole dances and Vip dances and if you want to come see me in person the address is [REDACTED] Nevada

Poster's age: 47

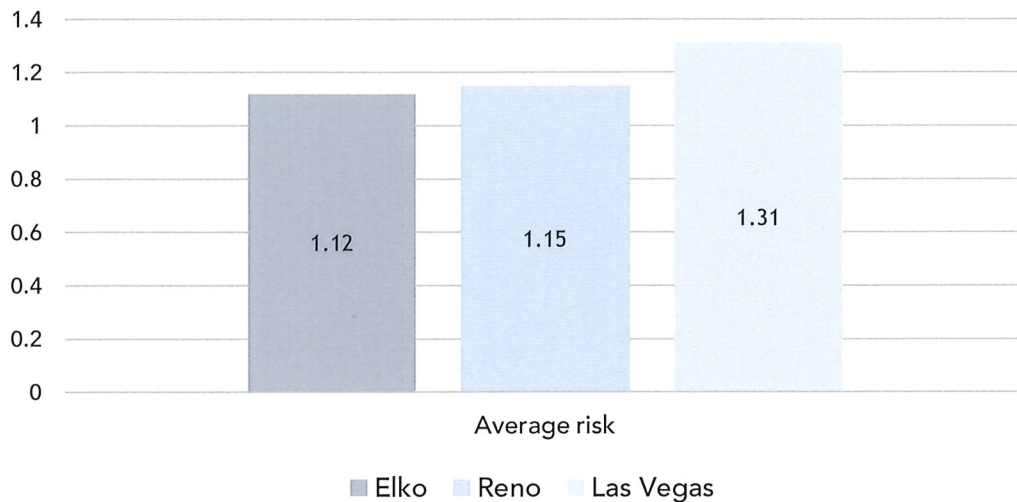
- Location: Battle Mountain, Visalia / Tulare
- Post ID: 13700804 visalia

Importantly, however, individuals are sold in the criminalized sex markets even in areas with licensed brothels. When looking exclusively at those not sold through an organization, risk of trafficking across different markets in Nevada is similar overall. Specifically, individuals sold in Elko and Reno have similar average risk overall, whereas the pool in Las Vegas is slightly higher risk.

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Average Trafficking Risk by City Visited



CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Targeting ad venues will not eliminate risk of trafficking-** Data from this report show that it is possible to identify risk factors for having been trafficked based on online advertisements. On the other hand, policy efforts to shut down online advertising platforms such as Backpage are unlikely to reduce the risk of trafficking and may even be counterproductive.
 - Policies targeting platforms do nothing to eliminate either the demand or supply for commercial sex. In fact, they may encourage sex providers to work with facilitators in order to find buyers, potentially making trafficking more likely. Furthermore, a more fragmented online market is simply more difficult for law enforcement groups to monitor.
- **Substance Abuse and Mental Health Resources** – Our data show that younger sex providers are more likely to advertise as being open to drug use and always available to sell sex. These same individuals are at a higher risk of having been trafficked. These factors indicate that providing adequate substance abuse and mental health resources to those who have been trafficked is critical to supporting their paths forward. Even if trafficking survivors have access to economic opportunities, challenges with

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mental health and substance use could leave them at continued risk of exploitation without adequate supports.

- **System Collaboration** - Collaboration and information sharing with other states and across jurisdictions between private and public agencies is critical. Thirty percent of sex providers in Nevada are based in other states, and another 14% travel within the state. The transient nature of sex providers statewide makes victim identification difficult unless system collaboration occurs.
 - Regional hubs – Connections in the Reno / Tahoe area and between Las Vegas and southern California stand out as particularly important travel routes. Collaboration among service providers and law enforcement in these areas may be particularly fruitful in helping trafficking victims.
- **Licensing is Not a Panacea** -It is difficult to assess risk of trafficking from advertisements for licensed brothels. We have shown that ads for some licensed brothels depict what appears to be a high-risk trafficking environment, whereas other ads are consistent with some degree of autonomy being exercised by sex providers.
 - Even if we were to assume zero trafficking risk within legal brothels, the data in this report show that criminalized sex markets coexist with the licensed and regulated brothel industry. Unfortunately, individuals in the criminalized markets near licensed brothels are at a similar risk of having been trafficked as individuals in areas without legal brothels. This indicates that the current licensing and enforcement policy is not a panacea for eliminating or reducing risk within the criminalized market. Support for survivors of trafficking should reflect this.

EXHIBIT 8

**MELISSA FARLEY,
TRAFFICKING FOR PROSTITUTION:
MAKING THE CONNECTIONS, AMERICAN
PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION (2007)**

EXHIBIT 8

Trafficking for Prostitution: Making the Connections
Melissa Farley
American Psychological Association
115th Annual Convention August 17, 2007 San Francisco¹

I'm going to talk about false distinctions in the field of trafficking for prostitution, about denial, and about the issue of consent/and choice - which is one aspect of denial. I'll end by talking about some UN agreements that challenge these false distinctions between prostitution and trafficking.

Sex trafficking is coercing or selling or renting a person in a situation of sexual exploitation, such as prostitution or pornography. Trafficking happens whenever women, men, or children are recruited and then exploited in the sex industry. Prostitution is the destination point for sex trafficking.

The sex industry, like any other industry, has domestic and international sectors, marketing sectors, a range of physical locations out of which it operates in each community, is controlled by many different owners and managers, and is constantly expanding as technology, law, and public opinion permit. The false distinction between voluntary and forced prostitution puts both victims and law enforcement in an impossible bind.

Alesia Adams joked about the lack of services for prostituted teens in Atlanta. "What do I have to do to get some help here? Take these girls across the border in a bus, then bring them back into the U.S., and say, 'Here, I've got some trafficked girls, now can we get some funding for services?'" Adams was challenging the lack of funds for women and children who are domestically, but not internationally, trafficked into prostitution.

Things are not always what they seem.

Jody Williams, founder of Sex Workers Anonymous in Las Vegas, is coauthor of a chapter in the 2007 book, *Prostitution and Trafficking in Nevada: Making the Connections* on subjugation of women in prostitution by pimp mind control, has devoted her life to helping women escape prostitution. She's been out of prostitution many years, and talks about the time she was on a talk show with a well known pimp and several women who prostituted in his legal Nevada brothel. The women spoke glowingly of how much fun prostitution was, how rich they were getting, how glamorous the life was to the talk show host. Jody spoke about the harms of prostitution, including legal prostitution. At the end of the show, as the pimp was talking to the host, one of the women whispered to Jody that she needed help, saying she was there under captivity, that he had a

gun, had threatened her life, and could she go with Jody in her car. Jody went out the door with the woman, who left her purse and jacket on the chair, running for her life.

Under duress from pimps or traffickers or cult leaders, women hide their coerced status in prostitution just as they do in religious cults, and just captives or children hide their abused status, blaming themselves, feeling invisible, mistrusting almost everyone even especially those that seem to offer help, since there have been so many betrayals.

Slavery in the United States had cover narratives much like those used today on the talk show that Jody participated in. The level of psychological and physical coercion against the women on the talk show, the psychological abuse, sexual abuse, familial and community neglect– were carefully concealed by a woman who was under the terrorist control of a pimp. How do we ignore what is in front of us? How can we look at people doing what we would never want to do – perform sex acts with 5-20 anonymous strangers a day – and conclude that a particular 20 year old just loves to do that because she has a smile and an attitude? It takes a village to create a prostitute and we're that village.

As Judith Herman said some years ago, most people refuse to believe how bad it really is for women. Actively refuse. Pimps and traffickers count on peoples' ignorance about prostitution/trafficking, their refusal to believe their senses, and their willingness to buy his program. This is accomplished by exploiting people's fears and vulnerabilities and by the deceptive use of language.

Victim/survivors struggle to protect themselves from further harm by dissociation and denial. Barb Strachan at DIGNITY House in Phoenix explained.

There's a protective denial. You have to convince yourself and everyone around you that it's great. You tell the lie – "I like it" – so much that you believe it yourself. You make it OK by saying, 'I haven't been beat up today. I haven't lost all my money today.' Women have to justify it: they can't tell themselves or anyone else the reality of it or else they'd die. Until you step out of prostitution, you don't realize what the emotional wreckage is.

Because we still know little about prostitution and trafficking, we are vulnerable to thinking inside the conceptual and legal boxes constructed for us by politicians, lawyers, and perpetrators. We can no longer afford to be limited by someone else's definition of what the problem is. As psychologists, we look for evidence-based phenomena. We must reject definitions and demographics foisted

on us by politically-driven government organizations or by the False Memory syndrome Foundation, or by biased scientists who tell us for example that global heating does not really exist.

Psychologists cannot let politicians decide what torture is or is not. We cannot let the False Memory syndrome Foundation define what incest is or is not. And we cannot let the pimp lobby tell us that prostitution is work and that the only people we should be focusing on are children who are trafficked with a gun to their head from Romania.

There is an evolving public awareness about the human rights violations of sex trafficking in Nevada and elsewhere in the United States. This awareness and public outrage about trafficking, however, exists primarily for victims who have been transported across an international border. Although physical violence may or may not occur, in all cases of trafficking for prostitution there is psychosocial coercion that happens in contexts of sex and race inequality and under conditions of poverty or financial stress, and often a history of childhood abuse or neglect. Women may legally and seemingly voluntarily migrate from a poorer to a wealthier part of the world, for example with a work permit and the promise of a good job from a "friend" who turns out to be a trafficker. Once she has migrated, away from home and community support, she is dependent on traffickers and their networks. At that point the pimp/trafficker's psychological and physical coercion expands while her options for escape rapidly shrink.

Domestic and international trafficking have similar adverse effects on the victim. The psychological harms of trafficking and the resulting traumatic stress are much the same as the psychological harm done to women who are in the legal brothels but who have not crossed an international border. Salgado described a trafficking syndrome resulting from repeated harm and humiliation against a person who is kept isolated and living in prisoner-of-war-like conditions. International trafficking, just like prostitution and domestic trafficking, is extremely likely to result in posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Both domestically and internationally trafficked women experience terror, despair, guilt regarding behaviors that run counter to their cultural or religious beliefs, blame themselves for the abuse perpetrated on them by pimps and buyers, feel a sense of betrayal not only by family and pimps but also by governments that fail to help them.

Domestic trafficking - the sale of women in prostitution from poorer to more prosperous sex markets within a single country - can be as devastating for

the women as international trafficking. This is true in countries where there is assumed to be significant wealth such as New Zealand and the United States as well as countries where there is more visible poverty such as India and Zambia.

The apparently civilized transaction between elite prostitutes and their clients in luxury hotels is underpinned by the same logic that underpins the forcible sale of girls in a Bangladeshi brothel. This logic is premised on a value system that grades girls and women - and sometimes men and boys - according to their sexual value. (Louise Brown)

The economic and social forces that channel young, poor, and ethnically marginalized women into prostitution are evident in post-Katrina New Orleans. Survivors of prostitution and advocates for homeless teenagers in Las Vegas have reported that in the two years following the economic devastation of hurricane Katrina, many young women previously pimped in New Orleans were domestically trafficked to Las Vegas. New Orleans, an economically stressed area with a long history of race discrimination, was the source region for young and poor African American girls. Las Vegas, with its thriving sex businesses, was the domestic traffickers' destination market for the girls.

There is a pyramid-like hierarchy in prostitution. At the top are a very few women who service a few men for a lot of money in a short period of time in their lives - and then they get out, or are bought by one man who supports them. In the middle section of the pyramid are women who need the money, who have had the option of sexual exploitation as a survival mechanism made very real to them by a history of incest or childhood sexual abuse, and who may face an emergency situation such as escaping a violent partner, losing a job, or having children with special needs. The farther you descend in the hierarchy, the greater the numbers of women in prostitution, and the less meaningful any discussion of choice is for them. At the bottom of the hierarchy are the largest number of women in prostitution, those who are the poorest and who have enormously restricted life choices. Many of these women have been physically coerced into prostitution.

The theory that some women choose prostitution ignores the facts that women do not have equal rights with men and that people of color are discriminated against in the United States. Choice depends on the freedom to choose. The lowest earning workers in most cultures are single women who are

raising children. In 2005 a minimum wage full-time worker could not afford an average priced one-bedroom apartment anywhere in the United States.

As a woman in a Nevada brothel patiently told me, “no one likes to be sold for sex,” whether it’s legal or illegal, located indoors or outside, in a gentleman’s club or in a gentleman’s car. Yet wherever there’s prostitution, the pimps’ and johns’ debate flames up about whether women in prostitution really like it, whether they consent, whether it’s voluntary or not.

In spite of women’s longing to escape all types of prostitution, some observers have theorized a false distinction between voluntary and coerced prostitution. Pimps bait us with the myth that there is a vast gulf between what they call “freely chosen” prostitution and the physically coerced trafficking of women and children. But is there really such a grand difference, or are some forms of coercion simply more visible than others? How do you know what’s behind the mask of a smiling twenty-three year old who is stripping and turning tricks in the VIP lounge of the strip club? What was her life like before she started prostituting? How many people early on defined her as a little whore while she was sexually abused as a child by family members and neighbors? Did she recently escape a violent husband or partner? Does she have children to support and no job that pays enough? Was she unable to afford to go to college? Was she (for whatever reason) emotionally and economically vulnerable and then tricked and brainwashed by a pimp?

For many reasons, people may “choose” what is deeply harmful to themselves, sometimes because they’ve grown up seeing themselves in a limited or damaged way. Because they had no alternatives, battered women for many years were assumed to be freely choosing to return to violent partners when in fact they were terrorized into returning under conditions of restricted economic resources. Our culture itself – as the APA’s recent report on the sexualization of girls indicates – limits women’s ability to reject the consent that is taken for granted.

A woman in Lusaka, Zambia said, “Yes, I made the choice to prostitute, my children are hungry and I have to feed them.” A woman in West Bengal, India said that she prostituted because it was “better pay for what was expected of her in her last job, anyway.” Echoing the Indian woman’s sentiment, lap dancers in U.S. strip clubs felt the same way about the futility of avoiding workplace sexual harassment. In 2003, Juliana Beasley interviewed and photographed U.S. lap

dancers. “Many dancers I interviewed spoke of harassment working in so-called straight jobs, she commented, Their attitude was, ‘If I’m going to be sexually objectified, I might as well get paid for it.’”

We live in a world where women are increasingly channeled into prostitution as their opportunities for work in other sectors of the economy shrink. Women in U.S. prostitution joke about the “welfare-to-prostitution” trend that has occurred subsequent to the removal of government-assisted educational programs, job training, housing, and childcare. Women are coerced into prostitution by the actions of politicians who remove public supports by shutting down essential social services, who de-fund housing programs and educational opportunities for the poor, and who vote to eliminate food subsidies for vulnerable women and children.

Most discussions of choice and consent erase the fact that prostitution is intrinsically sexually exploitive. Whether or not an individual woman is able to decrease prostitution’s physical damage, whether she has relatively more or less money in the bank as backup protection, whether or not she is slightly more protected in prostitution by class and race privilege, and whether or not she is protected from sexually transmitted disease by the john’s use of a condom - prostitution nonetheless remains harmful. Consent is not a meaningful concept when a woman acquiesces to prostitution out of fear, despair, and a lack of alternatives. In prostitution, the conditions which make genuine consent possible are absent: physical safety, equal power with customers, and real alternatives.

The pimp’s defense is usually that she consented to prostitution. Traffickers offer us the lie that women consent to trafficking. While women may initially consent to prostitution, they rarely know how bad it is going to be, and they never know the prison-like or slave-like circumstances in which they will often be prostituted. A trafficker who operated illegal brothels in 13 states including Nevada was arrested for transporting women from Latin America into prostitution. After his arrest, he argued in court that he gave the women cell phones, let them keep “some of their earnings,” and that they had “some periods of freedom.” He claimed the women consented but what exactly did they consent to? To being coerced to turn a dozen tricks a day in exchange for having a cell phone, a few dollars, and some pimp-specified amount of freedom?

Two international agreements confront the flawed notion that women “freely consent” to prostitution, and make clear statements opposing prostitution

and trafficking. The first is the United Nations 1949 Convention which declares that trafficking and prostitution are incompatible with individual dignity and worth. The 1949 UN Convention addresses the harms of prostitution to *consenting adult women whether or not they were transported across national boundaries*. A second United Nations document views trafficked women as victims, not criminals. The 2000 Palermo Protocol like the 1949 Convention declares that consent is irrelevant to whether or not trafficking has occurred. It encourages states to develop legislative responses to men's demand for prostitution and establishes a method of international judicial cooperation that would permit prosecution of traffickers and organized criminals. The Palermo Protocol also addresses a range of other forms of sexual exploitation including pornography.

The U.S. federal legal requirement that coercion to trafficking be visible as force, fraud, or deception - reflects a failure to understand the psychological control, the invisible mental coercion, and the terrorist control exercised by johns and pimp/traffickers over women who are vulnerable because of sex, race, and poverty. It's time for a change, so that we can simultaneously provide services for victims and work toward an end to the institution of prostitution, as the Swedish government did in 2000. The Swedes decriminalized prostitution for the victims, while at the same time levying felony-level penalties against johns, pimps, and traffickers. It works.

Much of this talk is based on excerpts from Melissa Farley (2007) *Prostitution and Trafficking in Nevada: Making the Connections*. Prostitution Research & Education: San Francisco.

EXHIBIT 9

**U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS REPORT AT PG. 27 (2007)**

EXHIBIT 9

THE TIERS

TIER 1

Countries whose governments fully comply with the Trafficking Victims Protection Act's (TVPA) minimum standards

TIER 2

Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards

TIER 2 WATCH LIST

Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards AND:

- a) The absolute number of victims of severe forms of trafficking is very significant or is significantly increasing; or
- b) There is a failure to provide evidence of increasing efforts to combat severe forms of trafficking in persons from the previous year; or
- c) The determination that a country is making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with minimum standards was based on commitments by the country to take additional future steps over the next year.

TIER 3

Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the minimum standards and are not making significant efforts to do so

Child soldiers are a global phenomenon. The problem is most critical in Africa and Asia, but armed groups in the Americas and the Middle East also unlawfully use children in conflict areas. All nations must work together with international organizations and NGOs to take urgent action to disarm, demobilize, and reintegrate child soldiers.

Sex Trafficking and Prostitution

Sex trafficking is considered the largest specific subcategory of transnational modern-day slavery. Sex trafficking would not exist without the demand for commercial sex flourishing around the world. The U.S. Government adopted a strong position against prostitution in a December 2002

policy decision, which states that prostitution is inherently harmful and dehumanizing and fuels trafficking in persons.

Prostitution and related activities—including pimping and patronizing or maintaining brothels—encourage the growth of modern-day slavery by providing a façade behind which traffickers for sexual exploitation operate. Where prostitution is tolerated, there is a greater demand for human trafficking victims and nearly always an increase in the number of women and children trafficked into commercial sex slavery. Few women seek out or choose to be in prostitution, and most are desperate to leave it. A 2003 scientific study in the *Journal of Trauma Practice* found that 89 percent of women in prostitution want to escape prostitution but had no other options for survival.

EXHIBIT 10

**Melissa Farley, *Risks of Prostitution:*
When the Person Is the Product, 3 JOURNAL OF THE
ASSOCIATION FOR CONSUMER RESEARCH (2017)**

EXHIBIT 10

RISKY CONSUMPTION

Risks of Prostitution: When the Person Is the Product

MELISSA FARLEY

ABSTRACT In the traditional model of consumer risk, the product that is consumed is understood to be the agent that is imbued with risks. In prostitution, it is the woman who is being consumed as a commodity who is at great risk, in spite of the fact that prostitution is sometimes (erroneously) described as “sex between consenting adults.” Prostitution occurs because the person being consumed as product would not consent to sex with the buyer unless he paid for it. Thus, the notion that it is the consumer who is at risk for harm via consumption of a product is sometimes inappropriate and the model itself needs to be reframed. This is the case with prostitution, where the prostituted person is at far greater risk than the sex buyer or the pimp.

A sex buyer in a research interview explained that “*Being with a prostitute is like having a cup of coffee, when you’re done, you throw it out.*”

—Farley et al. (2015, 13)

In the traditional model of consumer risk, the product that is consumed is understood to be the agent that is imbued with risks. Tobacco is a well-known example of a product associated with risk to its consumers. Because of tobacco companies’ withholding of research evidence regarding the risks of morbidity and mortality, many people suffered from tobacco-related harms. Decades ago no one would have guessed that Big Tobacco would pay \$368 billion in health-related damages from smoking. In a just world, damages will also be directed to those people who have been subject to damages from the risks inherent to prostitution and other segments of the sex trade.

In prostitution, it is the woman¹ who is used for sex who is at risk, despite the businessmen’s description of prostitution as “sex between consenting adults.” Prostitution occurs because the person being sold for sex would not agree to have sex with the buyer unless he paid for it. Understanding that desperate people consent to grievous harms, the 2000 Palermo Protocol, an international law signed and agreed to by the United States, states that consent is irrelevant to whether or not trafficking (coerced prostitution) has occurred. The Palermo Protocol specifically states that money is a means of coercion in prostitution (Raymond 2002). Thus the assumption that it is the *consumer* who is at risk for harm via consumption of a product is some-

times inappropriate and the model itself needs to be reframed. This is the case with prostitution, where the prostituted person is at far greater risk for harm than the sex buyer or the pimp/trafficker.

RISKS OF PROSTITUTION

You just give them what they want and pray they don’t kill you. (Dalla, Xia, and Kennedy 2003, 1367)

There are thousands of books and classes that provide women with information on self-defense and rape “avoidance” strategies. Some of the basic lessons they teach us are not to walk alone at night on dark deserted streets, not to get into cars with strange men, not to pick up guys in a bar, not to even let a delivery man into your home when you’re by yourself. Yet this is what the “job” of prostitution requires; that women put themselves in jeopardy every time they turn a trick. And then we ask, “How do you prevent it from leading to danger?” The answer is, you can’t. Count the bodies. (Giobbe 1991b, 34)²

Prostitution is a gendered survival strategy that requires the person in it to assume unreasonable risks (Dworkin

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1. Those in prostitution include women, men, transwomen, and children. We use the term *women* to include all of these people.
2. See also Giobbe (1990, 67, 76).

JACR, volume 3, number 1. Published online December 19, 2017. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/695670>
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1997). These well-documented risks include sexual harassment, rape, and rape without a condom (Silbert, Pines, and Lynch 1982). As a prostituting woman in Vancouver explained, "what rape is to others is normal to us" (Farley, Lynne, and Cotton 2005, 254). As a result of the frequency of rape in prostitution, prostituted people have the highest HIV rate of any population studied. One study found an HIV prevalence rate of 93% (Ward and Day 2006). Risks of prostitution also include domestic violence, physical assault, and psychological sequelae of these traumatic stressors: posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), dissociative disorders, depression, eating disorders, suicide attempts and successful suicides, and substance abuse. Most people would not be willing to assume these risks. For most of the world's prostituted women, prostitution is the experience of being hunted, dominated, harassed, assaulted, and battered. Despite the fact that money is paid, sexual assault remains most women's experience of prostitution. Women are prostituted because they are vulnerable as a result of their poverty, a lack of educational options, lack of employment opportunities, and as a result of previous physical, sexual, and emotional harms. They are purchased on the basis of race as well as sex stereotypes. These social harms and prejudices put poor women of color especially at risk for the physical and psychological harms addressed here. Prostitution formalizes women's subordination by sex, race, and class (Dworkin 1997).

Childhood abuse is such a common precursor to prostitution that it is considered by most experts to be a necessary if not sufficient risk factor for prostitution (Tyler et al. 2000). Survivors link physical, sexual, and emotional abuse as children to later prostitution. Seventy percent of the adult women in prostitution in one study stated that childhood sexual assault was responsible for their entry into prostitution (Silbert and Pines 1981, 1983). Family abuse and neglect not only caused direct physical and emotional harm, but also created a cycle of victimization that affected their futures. Familial sexual abuse functions as a training ground for prostitution. One young woman said, "I started turning tricks to show my father what he made me" (Silbert and Pines 1982, 488). Dworkin (1997, 143) described sexual abuse of children as "boot camp" for prostitution. Adolescence is the most frequently reported age of entry into any type of prostitution. Boyer and colleagues (1993) interviewed 60 women prostituting in escort, street, strip club, phone sex, and massage brothels in Seattle, Washington. All of them began prostituting between the ages of 12 and 14.

Sex buyers' fantasies about prostitution drive the real lives of prostituted women. From the moment of sale, the purchased or rented person is measured against the buyer's fantasies—for example, his fantasy of "the prostitute who loves to have sex with strangers." Today sex buyers often seek a "girlfriend experience" in which prostituted women are paid to mimic a love relationship. The performance is required to be one that fools the sex buyer. Failure to live up to these fantasies led to brutal violence by sex buyers, one of whom rationalized,

When there is violence, it is mostly the prostitute's fault. See, I am going to buy something. If I am satisfied with what I am buying, then why should I be violent? I will be violent when I am cheated, when I am offered a substandard service. . . . Sometimes violence is because the prostitute wants the client to use condoms. They force it on the client. He will naturally be disgruntled and there will be altercations. (O'Connell-Davidson 2003, 58)

The risks for experiencing physical violence in prostitution are very high. An occupational survey noted that 99% of women in prostitution were victims of violence, with more frequent injuries "than workers in [those] occupations considered . . . most dangerous, like mining, forestry and fire fighting" (Gibbs, Sydie, and Krull 2000, 47). Two factors have been associated with greater violence in prostitution. The greater the woman's poverty, the greater the violence she experiences, and the longer she is in prostitution, the more likely she is to experience violence (Giobbe 1991a; Vanwesenbeeck 1994). A number of authors have described and summarized the sexual and physical violence that is the norm for women in prostitution (Oselin and Blasyak 2013; Argento et al. 2014). In a study of Vancouver women in prostitution, 75% had suffered physical injuries from the violence in prostitution. These included stabbings and beatings, concussions and broken bones (broken jaws, ribs, collarbones, fingers, spinal injuries, and a fractured skull), cuts, and black eyes. Fifty percent of these women had head injuries resulting from violent assaults with, for example, baseball bats and crowbars. Many had their heads slammed against walls and against car dashboards. Sex buyers and pimps regularly subjected them to extreme violence when they refused to perform a specific sex act (Farley et al. 2005). Because of its extreme violence, the risks of prostitution include multiple adverse health consequences (Church et al. 2001; Oram et al. 2012). Impacts of prostitution's violence include more

severe health problems such as exhaustion, cervical cancer, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), undiagnosed pelvic pain, complications from abortions, traumatic brain injury, headaches, high fevers, broken bones, cardiovascular symptoms, respiratory symptoms, gastrointestinal problems, and immune system compromise (Farley and Kelly 2000; Dalla 2002; Vanwesenbeeck 2005; Zimmerman et al. 2006).

Silbert and Pines (1981, 1982) reported that 70% of women suffered rape in prostitution with 65% having been physically assaulted by sex buyers and 66% assaulted by pimps. The Council for Prostitution Alternatives in Portland reported that prostituted women were raped an average of once a week (Hunter 1994). In the Netherlands, 60% of prostituted women suffered physical assaults; 70% experienced verbal threats of physical assault; 40% experienced sexual violence; and 40% had been forced into prostitution and/or sexual abuse by acquaintances (Vanwesenbeeck 1994). Most young women in prostitution were abused or beaten by pimps as well as sex buyers (Barry 1979, 1995; Hoigard and Finstad 1986; MacKinnon and Dworkin 1997). Eighty-five percent of prostituting women in Minnesota had been raped in prostitution (Parriott 1994). Of 854 people in prostitution in nine countries (Canada, Colombia, Germany, Mexico, South Africa, Thailand, Turkey, United States, and Zambia), 71% had experienced physical assaults in prostitution and 62% had been raped in prostitution. Eighty-nine percent of those people stated that they wished to leave prostitution but did not have other options (Farley et al. 2003). In another study, 94% of those in prostitution had experienced sexual assault and 75% had been raped by one or more sex buyers (Miller and Schwartz 1995).³

"It's like domestic violence taken to the extreme," explained a prostitution survivor (Leone 2001, A1). Prostitution can be lethal (Dalla et al. 2003; Potterat et al. 2004; Quinet 2011). Women in prostitution are seen as body parts or fake girlfriends whose feelings are irrelevant. They are not considered fully human and as a result, women in prostitution are murdered at a higher rate than any other group of women ever studied. A Canadian commission found that the death rate of women in prostitution was 40 times higher than that of the general population (Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution 1985). A study of Vancouver prostitution reported a 36% incidence

of attempted murder (Cler-Cunningham and Christenson 2001). A Dallas police officer told the author in 2009 that it was the policy of the Dallas PD to take DNA samples from women arrested for soliciting prostitution. He explained that so many prostituted women are murdered in Dallas that if a body or bones are found, police can do a DNA match and offer comfort to the victim's family.

The emotional consequences of prostitution are the same in widely varying cultures whether it's high class or low class, legal or illegal, in a brothel, a strip club, a massage parlor, or the street.⁴ The emotional assault on women and on their sexuality in prostitution is overwhelming, yet invisible to most people. Survivors describe prostitution as a process whereby they are turned into objects into which men masturbate causing great psychological harm to the woman acting as receptacle (Hoigard and Finstad 1986). Dissociation is a response to overwhelming and uncontrollable traumatic events in which the mind detaches from one's current emotional or physical state. Dissociation occurs during extreme stress among prisoners of war who are tortured, among children who are being sexually assaulted, and among women being battered, raped, or prostituted (Herman 1992; Schwartz 2000). Dissociative disorders, depression, and other mood disorders are common among prostituted women in street, escort, and strip club prostitution (Ross et al. 1990). Dissociation in prostitution results from both childhood sexual violence and sexual violence in adult prostitution. The dissociation necessary to survive rape in prostitution is much like the dissociation that enables a victim to endure familial sexual assault (Giobbe 1991a). Vanwesenbeeck (1994, 107) alleged that a dissociative proficiency contributed to what she described as "professional attitudes" among women in prostitution in the Netherlands. A Thai woman said, "You make yourself empty inside" (Bishop and Robinson 1997, 47). Symptoms of emotional distress in all forms of prostitution are off the charts: depression, suicidality, posttraumatic stress disorder, dissociation, and substance abuse (Brody et al. 2005; Ling et al. 2007; Pedersen et al. 2016). Two-thirds of women, men, and the transgendered in prostitution in nine countries met diagnostic criteria for posttraumatic stress dis-

3. For a list of articles that provide additional empirical data, see Farley (2006, 2009, 2013).

4. We have discovered that although many researchers differentiate street prostitution from other types of prostitution (brothel, strip club, massage parlor, escort, etc.) in fact women move from one physical location to another for the purpose of prostitution. Women are described as "street prostitutes" primarily because that is where the researcher encountered them. See Kramer (2003).

order. This level of extreme emotional distress is the same as in the most emotionally traumatized people ever studied by psychologists—battered women, raped women, combat veterans, and torture survivors. PTSD is characterized by anxiety, anhedonia, depression, insomnia, irritability, flashbacks, emotional numbing, and hypervigilance. In nine countries researchers found that 68% of those in prostitution met criteria for a diagnosis of PTSD, a prevalence that was comparable to battered women seeking shelter, rape survivors seeking treatment, and survivors of state-sponsored torture. Across widely varying cultures on five continents, the traumatic consequences of prostitution were similar (Farley et al. 2003). Two studies of prostituted Korean women reflect the women's intense psychological distress with PTSD prevalence rates of 78% and 80% (cited in Farley and Seo 2006). Pornography of women in prostitution increased their vulnerability and their emotional distress (Farley 2007a).

Although sex buyers tend to have an awareness of the risks of prostitution, they rarely reveal what they know. After hundreds of anonymous interviews with men who buy sex, we found that most have a nuanced understanding of both risks and harms of prostitution (Farley 2007a; Farley, Bindel, and Golding 2009; Farley, Macleod, et al. 2011; Farley, Schuckman, et al. 2011; Farley et al. 2012, 2015). As a sex buyer who participated in a research study explained,

They use sex to get money because they don't believe in themselves. They have very low self-confidence. I think they're very disturbed. I think a lot of times they feel degraded. They feel like they've been used. They feel useless. I mean the ones I know have no self confidence, so they feel less than a person, and more like a commodity. (Farley, Schuckman, et al. 2011, 21)

Another man described prostitution this way:

At one time I used to think that it helped a woman get self esteem. But I've changed my views on that. Now I think it helps to eliminate your self esteem. (Farley, Schuckman, et al. 2011, 21)

And a third said,

I think prostitutes turn into bad people from being prostitutes. . . bad things happen like rape, beatings, just being looked at as a commodity, having to con men out of money. . . you turn into a criminal. (Farley, Schuckman, et al. 2011, 21)

Two-thirds of a group of 100 US sex buyers opined that a majority are lured, tricked or trafficked into prostitution. Many of the men understood the economic coercion and the lack of alternatives in women's entry into prostitution. A man who chose not to buy sex explained,

The women who are prostitutes, they're single moms, it's not so cut and dry. It's not a conscious choice for them. While they're not literally forced into it, through socioeconomic circumstances they are partially forced into it. And the purchaser is inexorably tied to the bad and the wrong things that go into it. He's not just a harmless customer. (Farley, Schuckman, et al. 2011, 23)

Research studies and nongovernmental agencies' reports have shown that trafficking (third-party control) is prevalent in all forms of prostitution. Anderson and O'Connell Davidson (2003) reported that 77% of sex buyers in Japan were aware of risks of trafficking to women who were prostituting. Dragomirescu, Necula, and Simion (2009) interviewed sex buyers, women in prostitution, pimps, and police officers in Romania, all of whom agreed that sex buyers did not particularly care whether or not the women were trafficked.

IMMEDIATE AND LONG-TERM RISKS CAUSED BY COMMODIFICATION IN PROSTITUTION

The truth is that a lot of deep marketing-thought goes into the sex industry, whether the entity being sold is an independent escort's companionship or couples' porn. . . . Mainstream ad agencies deal with versions of this problem all the time as they market brands and lifestyles, but sex workers tangle with it in a different way, because *the thing on the market block is them*. (Ray 2007, 178)

She is just a biological object that charges for services. (Farley et al. 2011, 5)

Prostitution is the sale of a sex act or the exchange of a sex act for goods such as food, shelter, or drugs. In order for such a sale or exchange to occur, there must be an objectified, dehumanized, and commodified class of women, usually poor and most frequently ethnically marginalized, who are sold for sex to men who are more privileged than they. Commodification requires objectification, a process that

transforms people into objects with economic value (Sharp 2000). A pimp explained commodification at its most basic: "I took the kind of girl no one would miss so when they were resold, no one would look for them. It is as if I sold a kilo of bread" (Crumley, Simmons, and Schoenthal 1993, 46). Those who are commodified as products in the prostitution transaction become entrenched as part of a subordinated class of humans.⁵

Once a person is turned into an object, then exploitation and abuse are irrelevant; the abuse seems almost reasonable.

The transformation of a human being into property may be termed commoditization. . . . The commoditized person is *used* to achieve the commoditizer's objectives and is stripped of free will, self-determination, and selfhood. The commoditized person's body, skills, abilities, labor, and even reproductive capacity are no longer under his/her own control, but rather are controlled (i.e., owned or possessed) by the commoditizer. (Hirschman and Hill 2000, 469–70)

Sex buyers do not acknowledge the humanity of the women they use for sex, thus the processes of dehumanization, objectification, and commodification place those in prostitution at great risk for psychological and physical harms. Sex buyers in different cultures provided chilling examples of objectification and commodification. Prostitution was understood by one man as "renting an organ for ten minutes" (Farley 2007a, 144). In Phnom Penh, prostitution was understood this way: "We men are the buyer, sex workers are goods, and the brothel owner is a vendor" (Farley et al. 2012, 3). A woman who had prostituted in Vancouver for 19 years explained prostitution the same way that sex buyers did, "They own you for that half hour or that twenty minutes or that hour. They are buying you. They have no attachments, you're not a person, you're a thing to be used" (Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution 1985, 387).

Comparing the institutions of slavery and prostitution may shed light on the profound risks to the person who is

considered a product. Many are able to understand the risks of dehumanization and commodification based on race in slavery but find it more difficult to understand the risks of dehumanization and commodification based on sex in prostitution. Sex buyers and pimps are the commoditizers in prostitution, and slave owners and slave traders are the commoditizers in slavery. The enslaved and the prostituted are degraded in culturally tolerated rituals that conceal deadly violations of basic human rights. Over time, the deliberate humiliation and degradation produce a core sense of incapacitating self-loathing in the enslaved or prostituted person. These are risks that may only appear after some time in prostitution or slavery.

The dehumanization and objectification intrinsic to enslavement and to prostitution result in what Patterson (1982) has described as social death, which could also be described as complex posttraumatic stress disorder. A prostituted Costa Rican 16-year-old girl said, "Prostitution makes me feel like I am nothing, nothing at all" (Varney 2000, A1). The acts perpetrated on women in prostitution define her as a degraded object, as "cunt," as "filthy whore." She is reduced to vagina, anus, breasts, and mouth. She acts the part of the thing men want her to be (Dworkin 1997, 146). The only "plausible line in the . . . film *Pretty Woman*," said a prostituted woman, "is when Richard Gere, playing a client, asks Julia Roberts, playing a prostitute, what her name is, and she replies, 'Anything you want it to be'" (O'Connell Davidson 1998, 109). As Frederick Douglass wrote, enslaved people at auction said what they thought the slave traders and the slave buyers wanted to hear (quoted in Johnson 1999). Over time, even though she knows that the humiliation is cruelly unjust, nonetheless these systematic attacks on her humanity take a devastating toll on her self-esteem. The commodification that exists in the mind of slave traders, pimps, sex buyers, and slave buyers is ultimately incorporated into the identity of the woman who is prostituted or enslaved. Internalized commodification causes symptoms of complex post-traumatic stress disorder in which there are seismic shifts in the meaning of self and self-in-relation to others. A woman in strip club prostitution explained this process:

You start changing yourself to fit a fantasy role of what they think a woman should be. In the real world, these women don't exist. They stare at you with this starving hunger. It sucks you dry; you become this empty shell. They're not really looking at you. You're not you. You're not even there. (Farley et al. 2003, 263)

5. Also noting that the poor and disempowered are likely to engage in what they call "desperation exchanges," Radin and Sunder (2005, 12) pointed out that "it is unacceptable for society to embrace commodification of aspects of the self when it is in practice the only avenue of survival for the powerless." When a person herself becomes a product, some critical questions arise that are relevant to the risks assumed by or inflicted upon her. Who controls the sale and who is the person who is sold as a commodity? (Radin and Sunder 2005, 8).

The hallmark of slavery and of prostitution is that the enslaved or prostituted are subject to domination and to the arbitrary will of another person (Balkin and Levinson 2012) whether that person is the slave owner or slave seller, sex buyer, or pimp/trafficker. Yet many fail to understand that most women in prostitution are coerced; instead, women are assumed to be making an occupational choice. A woman in a Nevada legal brothel explained, “No one really enjoys being sold. It’s like you sign a contract to be raped” (Farley 2007b, 34). Another woman characterized Dutch prostitution as “volunteer slavery” (Vanwesenbeeck 1994, 149). According to estimates from 18 sources, on average 84% of adult women in prostitution are pimped or trafficked (Farley, Franzblau, and Kennedy 2014).⁶ Two research studies found that while 89%–90% of women wanted to escape prostitution, they did not feel free to exit because of a lack of alternatives for survival (Elizabeth Fry Society 1987; Farley et al. 2003). It usually requires multiple attempts before women can escape prostitution (Benoit and Millar 2001).

When there is a failure to understand lack of choice, the poor have been blamed for not attending good schools, slaves have been blamed for their own enslavement, Jews have been blamed for not escaping Nazi death camps, and women in prostitution are blamed for having made the choice to be prostituted. Prostitution is “the choice made by those who have no choice” (Wichterich 2000, 63). One man explained,

I don’t think prostitution is quite the same as rape. Rape is worse. But it’s close to the rape end of the spectrum. It’s not rape, because there is superficial consent. . . . On the face of it, the prostitute is agreeing to it. But deeper down, you can see that life circumstances have kind of forced her into that. . . . *It’s like someone jumping from a burning building—you could say they made their choice to jump, but you could also say they had no choice.* (Farley et al. 2011, 2015, 3614)

RISKS OF PROSTITUTION INCURRED BY THE SEX BUYER

Risks that are incurred by the consumer of prostitution include arrest where prostitution is illegal, social stigma, and health risks from STD. Although at first glance, the public health attention to risk of HIV or other STD includes the

prostituted woman herself; on closer inspection, it becomes apparent that the overarching concern is for the health of the sex buyer: to decrease his exposure to disease. In spite of extensive documentation that HIV is overwhelmingly transmitted via male-to-female vaginal and anal intercourse, not vice versa, one of the misogynist myths about prostitution is that she is the vector of disease (Farley and Kelly 2000). The social stigma against prostitution is not simply a general moral disapproval of the activity, but in the case of men who buy sex, a stigmatizing view of them as losers, unethical, or desperate men who are unable to find a female partner without payment (Farley et al. 2015).

The self-positivity bias, also called the self-serving attributional bias, might be used to study risks of prostitution to the sex buyer. When someone exhibits the self-positivity bias, the person tends to assume the best possible outcome for themselves or to mistakenly assume that they are at lower risk than others (Mezulis et al. 2004). Decreasing this overly optimistic bias is one way of approaching risks associated with prostitution. Most sex buyers, for example, assume that their risk of arrest for soliciting prostitution is low. Similarly, people at risk for HIV or STD assume that they are less likely to contract the virus than others. Research on positivity bias has shown that when information is provided by individuals who are perceived as similar to oneself, the self-positivity bias is reduced (Raghubir and Menon 1998). Self-positivity biases in personal risk perceptions are important because they may hinder efforts to promote risk-reducing behaviors. In a discussion about reducing consumers’ self-positivity biases, Lin, Lin, and Raghubir (2003) note that the greater the perception of uncontrollability of a negative event (such as getting arrested, or becoming conditioned via prostitution to premature ejaculation with nonprostituting partners), the more likely the consumer is to reduce his optimistic bias and to have a more reasonable assessment of risk of negative outcomes. Research on self-positivity bias among sex buyers would be useful.

DENIAL OF THE RISKS OF PROSTITUTION TO THE PERSON WHO IS SOLD FOR SEX

Public misconceptions about the risks of prostitution stem from sex buyers’ and pimps’ cover narratives that attempt to hide the risks of violence against women in prostitution. Like public awareness regarding the risks of smoking tobacco, public awareness regarding the risks of prostitution is not good for business. Sex buyers blame the victim, viewing women in prostitution as intrinsically different from other

6. See Dempsey (2017) for a discussion of the need to expand rather than constrict the legal definition of trafficking.

women and as morally deficient. Sex buyers justify prostitution by telling us that she's getting rich or that she's simply doing an unpleasant but necessary job like factory work. Sex buyers and sex trade advocates may acknowledge a fraction of the risks for abuse and exploitation in prostitution, but adverse effects are minimized and the risks of abuse are justified because the women are alleged to make a lot of money. In a series of studies in 2009, Di Nicola and colleagues found that men who buy sex have witnessed and acknowledged exploitation, coercion, and trafficking but this does not affect their decision to buy women for sexual use. One of their interviewees said, "If I could differentiate between forced and voluntary, it would probably not influence my choice. Because if I like the girl, I would ask her to join me in the room" (Zaitch and Staring 2009, 109). Once paid for, the risks of prostitution—the exploitation, abuse, and rape—are disappeared.⁷ The payment releases the buyer from any obligation to treat the person he is buying as human. A Canadian prostitution tourist commented about women in Thai prostitution, "These girls gotta eat don't they? I'm putting bread on their plate. I'm making a contribution. They'd starve to death unless they whored" (Moore 1991; Bishop and Robinson 1997, 168–69). A sex buyer described the rapes of a woman by her pimp. But, he said, the rapes happened only "once in a while, not every week" (Farley, Schuckman et al. 2011, 24). If men's sexual expectations are unmet, rape and prostitution are assumed to be inevitable. Women who fail to provide the sex acts demanded by their partners are then blamed for their partners' use of women in prostitution. "If my fiancé won't give me anal, I know someone who will" (Farley, Schuckman et al. 2011, 3).

Words are crafted that appeal to these rationalizations or to the desire not to witness the cruelty of prostitution. These maneuvers to deny risk include words that conceal harms: *voluntary prostitution*, which implies that she consented when she had no survival alternatives; *forced trafficking*, which implies that somewhere there are women who volunteer to be trafficked into prostitution; *sex work*, which defines prostitution as a job rather than an act of violence. The term *migrant sex worker* disappears both prostitution and trafficking. Strip club prostitution has been reframed as *sexual expression* or *exotic dancing* or *freedom to express one's sensuality*. Brothels are referred to as *massage parlors*, *saunas*, *nail parlors*, and *health clubs*. Older men who buy teenagers for sex in Seoul call it *compensated dating*. In the

United States, it's referred to as *dating*. In Tokyo prostitution is described as *assisted intercourse*. Men who buy women in prostitution are called *interested parties* or *hobbyists*, pimps are described as *managers*.⁸

The general public, despite glimmerings of discomfort, may consider the prostitution transaction a choice. Why this refusal to acknowledge risks? Why look away from the overwhelming power differential between the sex buyer and the prostituted? Much information about prostitution comes from sex trade advocates and profiteers who run campaigns of risk denial. Doubt is created via attacks on empirical research, appearances by "happy high-class escorts" on TV shows, and other carefully crafted pro-sex-trade propaganda. Pimps and sex trade entrepreneurs orchestrate denial that is much like the tobacco industry's or the climate change denialists' playbooks. The facts are turned upside down and fantasy replaces reality. In response to the avalanche of evidence demonstrating harms from smoking, tobacco manufacturers argued (a) that tobacco was not harmful to smokers, (b) that smokers' cancer was caused by other factors, and (c) that smokers assumed the risk of cancer when they decided to smoke (Michon 2015).

Prostitution risk denialists' arguments are comparable to arguments made by climate change denialists (Oreskes and Conway 2011; Klein 2014). See table 1. Climate change denialists and prostitution risk denialists both tend to oppose any form of regulation of their businesses. A free-market approach to extracting resources enacts the dominance-based business philosophy that everything is—and should be—for sale. Advocacy of the commodification and unrestricted sale of human beings as prostitutes is the same anti-regulatory approach to expanding prostitution markets as that used to expand fossil fuel markets.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS AND THE EVOLUTION OF PROGRESSIVE PROSTITUTION POLICY

Prostitution is the business of sexual exploitation. Well-documented risks of harm to the person used as product in the sex trade are ignored or denied. Pimps, traffickers, and sex buyers exploit the vulnerabilities of a dehumanized, devalued, and commodified class of women who have been set aside for men's sexual use. Anyone who is familiar with the daily life of those in prostitution understands that safety in prostitution is a pipe dream. Advocates of legal

7. Unlike other forms of violence against women such as incest, rape, or battering prostitution is paid for.

8. Pimps employ thugs named *catchers* who prevent women from escaping.

Table 1. Climate Change Denial and Prostitution Risk Denial Playbooks

<i>Climate change denial playbook</i> (Oreskes and Conway 2011)	<i>Prostitution risk denial playbook</i> (Farley)
1. Science is unsettled; there is no consensus.	1. Much research on prostitution is controversial; researchers disagree.
2. The uncertainties are very great. ^a	2. We can't be certain about the harms of prostitution. Even peer-reviewed studies of risks of prostitution are biased. ^a
3. There are so many causes of the alleged phenomenon that we don't know what the true cause is. ^a	3. There are many complex causes of violence in prostitution, such as poverty. Until we eliminate those, leave prostitution in place. ^a
4. Fixing the problem would be too expensive, would kill jobs, and would wreck the economy.	4. Sex work is necessary for women's economic survival.
5. Fixing the problem would undermine personal freedom. We are defending the free market from government intrusion. Government regulation is a slippery slope leading to communism.	5. Sex workers have the right to do what they want with their bodies. It's their choice. The sex trade slogan "get the government off my body" opposes government regulation from the neoliberal Left.
6. In any case global warming is good for you; it's nice weather.	6. Prostitution is an inevitable if unpleasant aspect of society. It meets men's needs for sex and prevents rape. Boys will be boys. It's the oldest profession.
7. Therefore nothing can and nothing should be done.	7. Leave sex workers alone. We can take care of ourselves, with the help of our business managers. Don't call them pimps or traffickers; they're managers.

^a There is a failure, possibly deliberate, to understand the process of scientific query, including a failure to understand that statistical associations and probability are strong evidence even when it is not possible to claim causal relationships. "You can't be 100% certain of that finding, can you?" is asked. Doubt is created." See Oreskes and Conway (2011).

and decriminalized prostitution understand this but rarely admit it. Still, evidence exists. For example legalizing prostitution in Australia resulted in prostitution's being seen as a normal job. However the Australian governmental agency responsible for worker safety recommended hostage negotiation training for those entering prostitution. This reflected the government's awareness of prostitution's dangers, contradicting the notion of prostitution as a job like any other. In South Africa, the Sex Workers' Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) distributed a list of safety tips including the recommendation that while undressing, the prostituting individual should "accidentally" kick a shoe under the bed, and while retrieving it, should check for knives, handcuffs, or rope. The SWEAT flyer noted that fluffing up the pillow on the bed would permit an additional weapons search (Farley 2004). A Dutch legal pimp who also understood the everyday violence directed at women in prostitution, explained, "You don't want a pillow in the [brothel's] room. It's a murder weapon" (Daley 2001). A San Francisco sex trade advocacy group advised, "be aware of exits and avoid letting your customer block access to those exits," and

"shoes should come off easily or be appropriate for running in," and "avoid necklaces, scarves, across-the-body shoulder bags or anything else that can accidentally or intentionally be tightened around your throat" (St. James Infirmary 2004, 172). Panic buttons in legal brothels make as little sense as panic buttons in the homes of battered women; they can never be answered quickly enough to prevent violence.

The activities of sex buyers and distributors/traffickers—the commoditizers—are predatory in the extreme. Those who profit from selling women in prostitution know of the risks just as surely as tobacco companies knew of the risks of smoking. As a nod to these risks, some have proposed harm or risk reduction based on the assumption that people will inevitably continue to engage in prostitution. Risk reduction interventions therefore aim to reduce *but not eliminate* risk of harm. At its extreme, a harm reduction approach becomes a laissez-faire ideology more concerned with protecting individual rights to certain behaviors, no matter how risky, than with protecting the health of these same individuals, their families, and the public. Harm reduction approaches to

prostitution (such as male condom distribution) may have some benefits but fail to address the roots of the problem. A risk reduction-only approach is dismissive of the alternatives for risk elimination: not entering prostitution, or helping individuals to completely avoid these highly risky activities (Green, Farley, and Herling-Ruark 2009).

The complicity of governments sustains prostitution. When the sex trade expands, women are less likely to compete with men for jobs. When prostitution is incorporated into states' economies, governments are relieved of the necessity of finding employment for women. Blood taxes are collected by the state-as-pimp in legal and decriminalized prostitution. Banks, airlines, internet providers, hotels, travel agencies, and all media are integral to the exploitation and abuse of women in prostitution tourism, make huge profits, and are solidified as part of a country's economy.

The existence of prostitution anywhere is society's betrayal of women, especially those who are marginalized and vulnerable because of their sex, their ethnicity, their poverty, and their history of abuse and neglect. Our goal should be to abolish prostitution, not to fix or regulate it. Decriminalized prostitution as a public health response to HIV is not warranted, given the current empirical evidence (Rothman 2017). The social and ethical challenges to those who promote legalized (or decriminalized) prostitution are overwhelming. Until vulnerability is removed and equality is in place, women will continue to enter prostitution as a last-ditch survival maneuver. This perspective has been elaborated in the Palermo Protocol, an international legal agreement signed by the United States that makes consent to prostitution irrelevant with respect to whether or not trafficking (pimping) has occurred (Raymond 2002). Another ethical issue is poverty and the financial inducement that compels people into prostitution (MacKinnon 2011), for example to pay for a tank of gas (Hardin 2011) or food (Bradenton 2012). Until income and sex equality exist, poor women will be vulnerable to prostitution. And finally, since legalization of prostitution has been associated with increased trafficking (Cho, Dreher, Neumayer 2013), those most vulnerable are at increased risk for harm (Rothman 2017).

The voices and analyses of exited survivors—those who are no longer under pimp or sex trade control—direct us to the obvious legal solutions. Men who buy sex must be held accountable for their predatory aggression. Given the psychological and physical risks to the prostituted person who is consumed as a commodity in the prostitution transaction, it makes sense to *increase* the real and perceived risks to the sex buyer. Those in prostitution must be of-

fered real alternatives for survival, and never arrested. Pimps and traffickers must also be held accountable. Many countries have now passed legislation that shifts the legal focus to men who buy sex. A human-rights-based or abolitionist approach to prostitution would decrease risks to the prostituted and offer them alternatives. Those who are sold for sex in prostitution would not be arrested. Instead sex buyers would be penalized. In this legal approach, prostitution is understood as an institution imbued with risk for the person who is bought as sexual commodity. A number of countries have passed legislation that recognizes prostitution as sexual exploitation: Sweden (1999),⁹ South Korea (2004), Iceland, (2008), Norway (2009), Canada (2014), Northern Ireland (2015), France (2016), and Republic of Ireland (2017). In these abolitionist approaches to prostitution, sex buyers are penalized (as are pimps and traffickers) and people in prostitution are decriminalized and are also provided with exit services and job training. Once prostitution is understood as a form of violence against women, this legal approach makes sense.

But first we have to move past the pimps' and profiteers' deceptive narratives that deny the risks of prostitution to the person who is sold as product. Ultimately, it is necessary to look at the structural origins of race, sex, and economic inequality. Public education is needed regarding the humanity of those who are bought as products, the risks and the violence of the experience of being bought for sex, and the predatory criminality of the sex buyer.

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9. See the Swedish government's report regarding the implementation of the law against purchasing sexual services: https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/sites/antitrafficking/files/the_ban_against_the_purchase_of_sexual_services_an_evaluation_1999-2008_1.pdf.

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EXHIBIT 11

**RONALD B. FLOWERS,
PROSTITUTION IN THE DIGITAL AGE:
SELLING SEX FROM THE SUITE TO THE STREET?
AT PGS. 42-46 (Praeger 2011)**

EXHIBIT 11

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avenues.¹⁸ Most of these are prostitutes working in brothels, massage parlors, private health clubs, or saunas “in practically every reasonably-sized town and city across the country, whether in the guise of a private flat or house, or run on more commercial and professional lines.”¹⁹ Studies show that there is a high incidence of HIV infection, physical assaults, and homicides among United Kingdom prostitutes.²⁰ Other research has yielded comparable findings with respect to prostitution-involved individuals practicing their trade in countries with legal prostitution but illegal procurement, as well as illegal prostitution.²¹

Legal Prostitution in Nevada

Prostitutes can operate legally in the United States in regulated brothels inside the state of Nevada, with prostitution banned in the rest of the country.²² The brothels are all located in rural counties with populations of less than 400,000. Currently there are 28 legal brothels in the state with names such as Angel’s Ladies, Moonlite BunnyRanch, Sue’s Fantasy Club, Shady Lady Ranch, and the World Famous Mustang Ranch. These brothels are spread out over eight counties, with four other counties legally able to issue licenses.²³ This does not include Clark County where Las Vegas is located, or Washoe County where Reno is located.

Legal brothel prostitution in Nevada is a lucrative enterprise, bringing in about \$75 million in revenue annually.²⁴ However, the illegal sex-for-sale business in Las Vegas alone brings in an estimated \$5 billion each year.²⁵ According to an investigation of female sex workers in America by ABC News, there are around 1,000 women working as independent contractors at legal brothels in Nevada, but only about 300 are active in the legal sex trade at any given time.²⁶ By comparison, an estimated 10,000 females ply the trade illegally in Las Vegas.²⁷ Licensed brothel prostitution-engaged women “work a legally mandated minimum of nine days for each work period.”²⁸

Perhaps the most well-known legal brothel in Nevada is the World Famous Mustang Ranch.²⁹ First called the Mustang Bridge Ranch, in 1971 it was Nevada’s first brothel to be licensed, paving the way for legal prostitution in the state. Spread out over 166 acres in Storey County and yielding the most profits among brothels, the Mustang Ranch was “forfeited to the federal government in 1999 following [the owner Joe] Conforte’s convictions for tax fraud, racketeering, and other crimes. It was auctioned off and reopened five miles to the east under the same name but different ownership.”³⁰

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Today the World Famous Mustang Ranch is a multimillion dollar enterprise that's "run with sophistication and a keen eye on the profit margin."³¹ Described as being "like a small compound, tucked away off the highway and surrounded by mountains," the brothel has its own Web site with an "erotic menu," to "feed your desires and fantasies," with such entrees as "Straight Lay," "Two Girl Show," and "Menage a Trois."³² *Love Ranch*, a 2010 motion picture starring Academy Award winner Helen Mirren, was based somewhat on the Mustang Ranch and the lives of Joe Conforte and his wife Sally.³³

Another well-known Nevada legal brothel is the Moonlite BunnyRanch, which first opened its doors in Carson City in 1955 as the Moonlight Ranch.³⁴ The brothel, owned by Dennis Hof, was the basis of two HBO America Undercover documentaries, *Cathouse* and *Cathouse 2: Back in the Saddle*, as well as the reality show *Cathouse: The Series*.³⁵

The Dynamics of Legal Prostitution

Brothel prostitutes in Nevada must be licensed, which requires the person to be 21 years of age or older, with the exception of Lyon County and Storey County, with 18 as the minimum age. The brothel's license fees to operate are anywhere from \$200 a year in Lander County to \$100,000 yearly in Storey County.³⁶ Licensed brothel prostitutes ply their trade as independent contractors and, as such, do not qualify for health benefits, unemployment, or retirement. Legal prostitutes usually tend to "work for a period of several weeks, during which time they live in the brothel and hardly ever leave it. They then take some time off."³⁷

The health of legal prostitutes and customers is a big concern for state officials. According to Nevada law, registered brothel sex workers are required to be tested every week "(by a cervical specimen) for gonorrhea and Chlamydia trachomatis, and monthly for HIV and syphilis."³⁸ Moreover, use of condoms is mandatory for sexual intercourse and oral copulation. Brothel owners can be held liable if customers contract HIV after a licensed prostituted has tested HIV-positive. Apparently, this has not been a problem with regulated legal brothel prostitution in Nevada. The state's brothel industry has not reported a single case of HIV for one of its licensed prostitutes since mandatory testing started in the mid-1980s.³⁹ In a study of two legal brothels, it was found that "condom use in the brothels was consistent and sexually transmitted diseases were accordingly absent."⁴⁰ Most of the prostitutes reportedly did not use condoms in their sexual relationships outside the sex trade.

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In spite of the low rate of STDs and the generally healthier conditions in which legal brothel prostitutes work as compared to prostituted females working the streets, drug abuse appears to be as much a problem for licensed sex workers as their street-level counterparts. A prostitute for the BunnyRanch noted to this effect: “A lot of the girls here do drugs. Whether it’s illegal drugs on the street, coke, and ecstasy kind of stuff, or whether its prescription drugs, three or four Xanax to get through the day, most of them are on something.”⁴¹

Earnings of Legal Brothel Prostitutes

Legal prostitutes’ earnings vary, depending on the brothel, location, services offered, experience, and demand. In general, licensed sex workers tend to make more the closer the bordello is to Las Vegas.⁴² For the most part, brothels do not operate with preset fees for service. Whatever their take amounts to, as independent contractors, it is the prostitute’s responsibility to pay federal income taxes (there is no Nevada state income tax). Income is reported to the IRS on form 1099-MISC. According to Wikipedia, with respect to the process of prostitute-customer business:

All but the smallest brothels operate as follows: as the customer is buzzed in and sits down in the parlor, the available women appear in a line-up and introduce themselves. If the customer chooses a woman, the price negotiations take place in the woman’s room, which are often overheard by management. The house normally gets half of the negotiated amount. If the customer arrives by cab, the driver will receive some 30% of whatever the customer spends; this is subtracted from the woman’s earnings.⁴³

Prices for sexual services typically begin at \$200 per 15 minutes, but can go higher. According to one sex worker at the Moonlite BunnyRanch, “My rate is \$2,000 an hour for everything, \$1,000 for half an hour, \$500 for 15 minutes.”⁴⁴ Another claimed to make as much as \$3,000 a day at the same brothel, staying “at the ranch for weeks at a time before going home . . . in order to make ends meet and provide for her young daughter.”⁴⁵

Susan Austin, the World Famous Mustang Ranch madam, indicated that some of her prostitutes offered their services for between \$10,000 and \$15,000 a night or for two days of prostituting.⁴⁶ Other legal brothel sex workers “may charge up to \$10,000 an hour for ‘parties’ with well-known or novelty women, or more for parties with multiple women.”⁴⁷

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According to Austin, the older licensed prostitutes with more experience at her brothels tend to “command the higher rates:”

A woman with a little age under her belt has a lot more patience. She’s more versed in the business. The young girl a lot of times just starting out doesn’t have all the necessary tools. That comes with age, and it comes with practice. It’s like taking a rookie baseball player versus a seasoned baseball player, if you know what I mean.⁴⁸

The madam noted that the “girls at the brothel love to brag about making big money; thousands a week in some cases. But the women are willing to accept less.”⁴⁹

I have more ladies coming in now than I ever did before because of the economic times. They’re all coming in. [It’s] the only way to make some decent money in this time and age. Jobs are not that many available because of the economic times and they can make more money doing this than they can flipping burgers at McDonald’s.⁵⁰

According to researcher Elizabeth Joseph, based on a two-year investigation of the commercial sex trade industry, many men these days pay out a great deal of money for not just high-class sexual relations, but to enjoy what is known as the Girlfriend Experience or GFE, in which the prostitute plays the part of a well-paid girlfriend.⁵¹ The prostitutes are urged to offer the GFE, as the brothel owner pimps and/or madams benefit by keeping the customers happy and the money pouring in. Hof reportedly directed his brothel sex workers to “fulfill those fantasies. Be the fantasy experience you know and create them;” while promising, “you’ll be rewarded handsomely, have six figures and live happily ever after.”⁵²

One sex worker at the Moonlite BunnyRanch recently recalled being told by her employer: “I could make a good living out here and that I’d be happy. I’d never go without a roof over my head. I’d never go hungry. I’d never go without money.”⁵³

In today’s times, using the Internet is a popular way to promote oneself as a licensed legal prostitute. During an ABC News examination of prostitution in the United States, journalist Diane Sawyer spoke with a high-paid sex worker at the Moonlite BunnyRanch whose Web site drew nearly 300,000 hits per month.⁵⁴ Similarly, illegal prostituted women in Nevada

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and elsewhere routinely “advertise themselves in the online red-light district under various aliases,” creating stiff competition for their licensed and regulated counterparts in the sex trade.⁵⁵

Male Legal Brothel Workers

With the licensed legal brothel workers in Nevada entirely female for decades, a gender equality breakthrough of sorts occurred in 2010, when the state allowed the Shady Lady Ranch legal brothel and its owner/madam, Bobbi Davis, to hire male prostitutes. Davis had argued that Nevada’s “prostitution regulations were outdated and discriminatory.”⁵⁶ She received support from the ACLU on the controversial move with opposition from the Nevada Brothel Owners Association, believing the move “could invite unwanted scrutiny and hurt the industry.”⁵⁷

The one-time waiver granted to the Shady Lady Ranch on U.S. Highway 95, about two and a half hours from Las Vegas, required that male prostitutes undergo weekly urethral examinations in lieu of cervical exams, use condoms entirely as required by male customers, and submit to blood tests every month.

Davis advertised on the Internet in search of male prostitute prospects, similar to female prostitute recruits, with requirements that included: “Have a Good Work Ethic. Must Be Service Oriented. Have a Willingness to Please. Have a Positive Attitude.”⁵⁸ However, unlike the female prostitutes in her employ who were in “their mid-30s to mid-40s, based on her clientele of older gentlemen,” she sought male sex workers between 21 and 40 years of age.⁵⁹

The Shady Lady Ranch hired its first male sex worker in January 2010. Though Davis anticipated that her male prostitutes would “primarily serve women and couples, the men [were] welcome to take on male clients, just as her women sometimes [did] with other women.”⁶⁰ However, former upper-level sex worker Tracy Quan believed that for Nevada’s licensed males in the sex trade, in terms of supporting themselves through prostitution, offering gay sexual services may well be

the inevitable next step; very few male prostitutes earn a living servicing women exclusively. In every income bracket, men are more capable and determined consumers of professional sex. Women have less experience—and less inclination as well. We aren’t 50% of the customer base and I doubt we ever will be.⁶¹

EXHIBIT 12

***Alice Little, A Week as a Legal Sex Working in
Mound House, NV, on a \$267,000 Salary,
REFINERY AT PG. 29 (2017)***

***TMZ.com, Robert Kraft Courted By Nevada Prostitutes...
It's Legal Here!!! (Feb. 23, 2019, 12:40am)***

EXHIBIT 12

A Week As A Legal Sex Worker In Mound House, NV, On A \$267,000 Salary

[ALICE LITTLE](#)

[NOVEMBER 13, 2017, 1:40 PM](#)

Welcome back to [Money Diaries](#) Monday! At the start of each week, we take a deep dive into Money Diaries in a variety of ways, from [recurring articles](#) to [fresh pieces](#) for the MD community.

Today, we asked a legal sex worker in Nevada to track her money for an entire week — both what she spends and what she earns.

Occupation: Legal Sex Worker

Age: 20s

Location: Mound House, NV

Salary: It varies. I typically bring in mid-six figures. My first year, I booked \$511,000, pocketing half of that as my income pre-expenses. The house takes 50% of whatever I book.

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My goal is to book \$750,000 this year. I've booked \$534,000 this year so far — \$267,000 pre-expenses and pre-taxes. During tax season, many things for us are deductible — condoms, lube, massage oil, photo shoots, my computer, my cell phone, the cost to get my hair cut, makeup, etc. I file as an LLC and pay just over \$15,000 in taxes each year on average.

Paycheck: Varies, as I'm an independent contractor.

Monthly Expenses

Rent: \$1,000. My roommates are two cats, two dogs, and one pig. I pay for pet sitters on an as-needed basis.

Student Loan Payments: Paid in full as of this month!

Other Monthly Expenses

Utilities: \$352.42

Transportation: \$527.03 for my car and car insurance

Fitness: \$150/week to meet with a personal trainer and nutritionist

Car Registration: \$557/year

Phone Bill: \$108.67

Health Insurance: I am currently uninsured, but it typically costs \$400/month and up for

private insurance.

Savings: \$15,000 into savings and investments

Day One

8 a.m. — The alarm goes off but I've been awake since 7:30 a.m. I'm an early riser by nature.

8:15 a.m. — Breakfast time for the animals! I have two cats, two dogs, and a mini-pig. I love spending my morning with them on my days off. After breakfast, we go for a walk around the block.

9 a.m. — Monday is one of my two days off each week. I consider it an errand day, when I go grocery shopping and take care of what needs to be done. Today, I have a breakfast date with my coworker and best friend Roxanne Price. We live right next to each other and often go out to a local breakfast spot. We talk about the work week, our cats, video games, etc. We switch off on who treats for breakfast; this week, it's my turn. **\$24.50**

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10:30 a.m. — Meeting and workout session with my personal trainer and nutritionist. I have low blood sugar, so it's very important that I'm on top of my fitness and diet plans.

12 p.m. — Protein shake and supplements after my workout. **\$10**

12:30 p.m. — DMV registration is due on my car for the year. Cue work-life crossover, where I notice a local client across the room. We exchange knowing smiles while we wait.

2 p.m. — Grocery shopping time! I drive to Whole Foods in Reno, as it's the only shop that stocks everything I need. I purchase a week's worth of groceries, including chicken breasts, salad mix, salmon, fruits, and assorted vegetables. **\$209.67**

3:15 p.m. — My phone goes off just as I get home and start unloading groceries. One of my regulars is at the ranch looking to visit with me. I quickly toss the cold items into the fridge and head out the door.

3:20 p.m. — I make a pit stop at Starbucks for coffee and egg-white bites since my lunch is now to-go. **\$12.56**

4:11 p.m. — J. is one of my local regulars. We exchange a hug and a kiss, then head back to my room to negotiate. We decide to go with our usual — the GFE or Girlfriend Experience — with a few new positions. J. uses Viagra, so we return to the bar to have a drink and catch up while we wait for it to kick in.

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5 p.m. — We head to the office to book our date. **Amount Booked:** \$2,000. **Amount Earned:** \$1,000 (after the house's cut)

6:45 p.m. — I get home from my appointment and finish putting away the groceries.

7:35 p.m. — Dinnertime! I prepare some of the salmon I purchased earlier and decide to make this a working meal. I eat in front of my computer while I respond to email inquiries.

8:15 p.m. — Evening walk with the dogs.

9 p.m. — Netflix and tea. I'm catching up on *Stranger Things* in anticipation of the next season! I only have so much time to watch television, so I carefully pick and choose shows to follow.

10 p.m. — I turn off the overhead light and read *The Lord of the Rings* until I fall asleep.

Daily Total Spent: \$256.73

Daily Total Earned: \$1,000

Room & Board: \$0. We pay \$32/day for room and board at the Ranch even on our days off, as long as we maintain a room. The \$32 cost is waived if you book a certain amount each day: Sunday to Thursday, you need to book \$1,000 (before the house cut). Friday and Saturday, that amount goes up to \$1,500.

Day Two

7 a.m. — Wake up. Despite today being one of my normal days off, I've got a photoshoot scheduled. No sleeping in — there's hair and makeup to be done!

8:35 a.m. — I prepare egg whites at home and eat them in a pita wrap on the road to the blow-out bar for my hair and makeup appointment.

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9 a.m. — Time for my appointment! I'm getting beachy waves and natural makeup done since this is for an outdoor fall photoshoot. Many people assume we only take boudoir images, but some of my most popular pictures are of me out and about, living life! **\$125.67 (including \$20 tip)**

11 a.m. — Time to meet my photographer at the park. We start out taking photos of me in cute outfits on a bridge in a dress, and work our way around the park with various outfit changes. **\$150**

1:35 p.m. — We're both getting hungry and the lights are starting to get a bit harsh, so we wrap up the shoot and go out for a sushi lunch, my treat. **\$66.67 (including \$10 tip)**

3:45 p.m. — Emails. So many emails. I spend my afternoon catching up on the online side of my business with website updates, emails, a new blog post, and more.

6:05 p.m. — Dinnertime! I grill chicken breasts for my meal, plus a few extras for the work week.

7:47 p.m. — I finish my day watching Netflix, reading a book (*Sex at Dawn*), and head to bed around 10 p.m.